1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure frequently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langakali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not married before first menstruation.

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was forbidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taciloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taciloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 828

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

/6 cont./

304 boys at a time. Thus, for example, in 1951 on Nomuka, B.S. Matata reported that in a good half hour he treated 22 boys. Most circumcisions nowadays are undertaken in December, since many uncircumcised pupils then being promoted in the village schools want to begin the new school year in "proper" condition. Though [463] [178] [743] there are still a few aged, experienced Tongans who perform these operations, to an increasing extent since around 1920, boys have gone to hospitals or to the small stations of "medical practitioners" and "dispensers" /cited in English/; today--even on the small islands--this already seems to be the normal procedure.

Two methods are therefore customary at present. According to the technique used by aged Tongans, a small piece of hard wood (pahihi) is pushed under the foreskin, then, with a piece of broken glass (from a bottle) or with a razor blade (substitute for bamboo knife and shell) (174)

174. Compare J. Martin, loc.cit. II. p. 264.

an incision is made in the foreskin and the two halves are lifted to the sides; they become necrotic or are cut off with scissors. The juice of pounded leaves (ate?) are dripped into the resulting wound the wound is covered with other leaves, the penis is bandaged with white tapa (feta'aki) and tied upright with a feta'aki belt placed around the waist and drawn between the legs. According to the "Hebraic method" used in hospitals, the foreskin is drawn forward and cut off as far as possible, the remainder being incised. Treatment and care of the wound proceed in the usual European manner. In addition, there are various modified "private procedures." For example, the dispenser of Nomuka performs circumcision by drawing a knife under the foreskin.

304 852 /63/ Nowadays, festivities in connection with circumcision scarcely take place. People regard the operation as a necessary and natural procedure to which one must submit, and attach no deeper

/63 cont./

304 meaning to it. (175)

852

175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have [178] become more matter-or-fact. (176)

176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

304 Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new
177 methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)
178

177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

594 The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a
581 rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan
588 custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the com-
852 pleted first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 This festival marking the completion of the first year of life,
852 which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as
177 far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for
[805] in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children
163 born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.